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The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

NIC #02125-85
23 April 1985

National Intelligence Council

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Frederick L. Wettersing
National Intelligence Officer for Africa

SUBJECT: South Africa--State Memo

1. During a meeting with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Frank Wisner on 23 April, he gave me the attached memo which he had drafted for Bud McFarlane outlining and interpreting recent events in South Africa. On balance, it is reasonable and informative and I pass it along for your information.

2. In addition, a couple of other items arose in our conversation which are noteworthy:

- State has received negative noises but nothing definitive from the South Africans and UNITA to its "non-paper" on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. The MPLA reaction is mixed; the most positive news came from their interlocutor, MPLA lieutenant Kito, who said that the MPLA Politburo should meet on the non-paper in early May to draft a reply. I told Wisner I doubted if we would receive a definitive reply from the MPLA, and he admitted such a possibility.
- I mentioned that the one troubling and interesting development inside Namibia was not the public formation of a new internal government--this was merely a repackaging of the 1978 Democratic Turnhalle Alliance government. Since the South Africans still were shuffling the same losing cards, it was of little real consequence. What was of consequence was the quiet South African program of significantly building up both the South West African Territorial Force (army) and police. Wisner agreed completely, noting that this is creating a new reality which was

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not covered by UN Resolution 435 and which could create at minimum another hurdle even if the Cuban issue were resolved. State is for the moment keeping quiet about this for fear of alarming our allies while they try to think of a way to deal with it.


Frederick L. Wetters

Att: As stated

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 22, 1985

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SECRETMEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: South Africa: Interpreting Recent Events

We have gone through a week of South African governmental decisions which may have a significant effect on our diplomatic strategy in the region and on events within South Africa. The following paragraphs put these events into perspective and indicate how we will be interpreting them in the Department's dealings with the press, allied governments, South Africa and the regional states.

Namibia-Angola. The South African government opened the week of April 15 by announcing its intention to complete the disengagement of its forces from southern Angola. By the end of the week and in the presence of senior Angolan military commanders, the last South African forces in the Area In Question (AIQ) in southwestern Angola departed for the Namibian frontier. This step completes South Africa's obligations under the February, 1984 Lusaka Agreement. While the news has reinforced our diplomacy, it remains to be seen exactly how the South Africans and Angolans will work out follow on security arrangements. The South Africans have publicly warned that if Luanda fails to control SWAPO, South Africa will retaliate. The disengagement gives the South Africans momentary high ground and brings fresh pressures on Luanda. The MPLA government no longer has the luxury of criticizing South Africa for its continued occupation of Angolan territory and at the same time enjoying the benefits of South African policing of SWAPO in the Area In Question. If Luanda is to preserve the benefits of the Lusaka Agreement, it has to face the fact that it must make decisions on Cuban withdrawal if there is to be an overall settlement which permits the implementation of UNSCR 435.

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On April 18, the South African government announced its qualified acceptance of Multi Party Conference (MPC) proposals for the internal administration of Namibia. For the past several weeks, the South African government has had under consideration proposals which would transfer substantial internal authority to the internal MPC coalition and reduce South Africa's responsibility for the territory's administration and the negotiation of Namibia's future. We took the lead within the Contact Group in warning South Africa that our governments would reject a change in Namibian internal arrangements which vitiates UNSCR 435 and our negotiating effort. After considerable internal wrangling, the South Africans decided to leave in place their Administrator General, retain responsibility for foreign and defense affairs and hold internal administrative reforms hostage to the Administrator General's veto. We doubt that the MPC will be able to sustain its fragile cohesion long enough to accomplish much or gain credibility. Nevertheless, the South Africans are creating new facts inside Namibia which will complicate reaching agreement on the implementation of 435, if we obtain an understanding on the Cuban withdrawal issue. South Africa has laid down a marker that it has other options than the internationally acceptable solution which we are seeking. That said, we welcome the fact that South Africa has committed itself to live by its international obligations and we have made the point firmly that internal developments which deviate from 435 understandings will receive no international support. The MPC decision has further fueled African and non-aligned movements efforts for a Security Council meeting on Namibia and we expect one to be called early this summer.

South Africa. The situation in South Africa continues to be troubled. Violence and demonstrations in black townships across South Africa are a daily occurrence. The South African government shows little capacity to be able to bring the situation under firm control, even though the violence poses no fundamental threat to South African state power. During the week of April 15, the South African government made announcements which affect the pace and content of reform, while at the same time warning that it will not put up with dissidence. On the negative side, the South African government has said that it intends to deal firmly with the United Democratic Front, which the State President has equated with the ANC and the South African Communist Party. Treason trials are in the works and the threat of a formal banning of the UDF remains.

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On a more positive note, the South African government has announced the repeal of its inter-racial sex and marriage laws. It has extended freehold land ownership rights to urban blacks now eligible for leasehold privileges. It has furthermore agreed to negotiate citizenship rights for South African blacks. Finally the State President has asked opposition parliamentary parties to join with his in negotiating the future of black participation in South Africa's life with those elements of black leadership which reject violence. Each of these moves has important symbolic and practical effects. The inter-racial sex and marriage laws have stood out among the more odious features of Apartheid. The extension of freehold explicitly admits the permanence of blacks in urban areas. The citizenship question lies at the heart of Apartheid and the possibility of extending citizenship to South Africa's blacks would be a clear move away from one of the main premises of the Apartheid system. We have long called for political dialogue. P.W. Botha's confirmation of his intentions to negotiate is in short a welcome event.

We have greeted these positive developments for what they are -- steps in the right direction. Even though our critics tend to downplay their importance, they are key developments and should be pointed to as positive developments. We are making the point in our press statements and will have occasion to do so again when Assistant Secretary Crocker testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on South Africa on April 24. That event is an important one; it will be a key opportunity to shape constructive legislation on South Africa.



Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

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SUBJECT: South Africa--State Memo

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